6: Oberg E-5 (1947) 1953 SP7 Bacairi

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INDIAN TRIBES OF NORTHERN MATO GROSSO, BRAZIL

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by

KALERVO OBERG

WITH APPENDIX

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE UMOTINA, NAMBICUARA, AND IRANXE, WITH COMPARATIVE DATA FROM OTHER NORTHERN MATO GROSSO TRIBES

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[Title Page]

amáka--hammocks
itabíenli--the ceremony, following childbirth, by means of which a woman is reintegrated into the life of the family and village
itâida--assistant to the village chief
jiráu--the storage space in the center of the house
kadoéti--ceremonial or flute house
kâiko--gourd vessels
komete--collective land clearing
píma--village chief
posegéiro--a period of seclusion at the time of puberty ranging from two months to a year
ransegéro--the ear-piercing ceremony (at puberty)
tadáinpudíli--wrestling matches
tadaunuto--the release from the state of ritual danger (following childbirth, puberty seclusion, etc.)
taséra--the central plaza
toinyaméli--a form of Indian football (soccer)
towise--houses
utanári--a village
wanki--a state of ritual danger after childbirth, death, puberty, etc.

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THE BACAIRI

114 This brief account of the Bacairí is based on
[101] field work done among the Bacairí living in the Government Indian Post on the Rio Paranatinga
[121] in June 1947. The field work was carried out in the course of a reconnaissance survey which the writer was then making of some of the central and northern Indian tribes of Mato Grosso.
[122] This and other trips at the time were made in a Ford truck put at the disposal of the writer by the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios. By using a truck the trip to the Paranatinga could be made over the Planalto do Matogrosense in 2 days in contrast to the old route along the Rio Cuiabá which, on horseback with pack oxen, takes from 2 to 3 weeks. The writer was accompanied by Fernando Altenfelder Silva of the Escola de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo and by Rev. Thomas Young and Rev. W. L. Buckman of the South American Indian Mission. The Reverend Mr.
[115] Young, who has spent more than 10 years among the Bacairí, was of great help in selecting informants and in adding to our knowledge of the Bacairí.

161 According to estimates made in 1947 by the
36 / Brazilian Indian Service (Serviço de Proteção aos Indios) there are between 200 and 250 Bacairí living in the northern part of Mato Grosso State, Brazil, divided between the Indian Post of Simão Lopes on the Rio Paranatinga and the village of
173 Rio Novo some distance to the northwest. The
361 Bacairí claim that the whole tribe originally
167 lived together on the Rio Paranatinga (headwaters
[648] of the Tapajoz River), but attacks by other Indians and Brazilians forced them to move about 90 years ago. Owing to a dispute the tribe split, one group moving north to settle on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu, a tributary of the Xingú River, the other moving to Rio Novo. After about 50 years in the Kuliseu Basin, this group moved to the present location of Simão Lopes, not far from the original Bacairí settlement
177 on the Rio Paranatinga. Although the Rio Novo
166 group has adopted Brazilian customs and manages
648 without Government help, some have moved to Simão Lopes where the Bacairí now live on reservation lands and receive assistance from the Brazilian Government.

THE BACAIRI [P. 69-B]

000 101 Brazilian Government. The information presented here was obtained at Simão Lopes from the Bacairí who lived on the Rio Kuliseu and relates to the life that they lived there about 40 years ago.

[197] Linguistically the Bacairí belong to the Carib-speaking family and appear to be closely related culturally to the other Carib-speaking tribes in 142 the Upper Xingú Basin. The Bacairí are short in stature, broad-shouldered and well-built. The head is broad, the nose straight or acquiline, the face narrow, the lips fairly thin. In physical [149] appearance the Bacairí remind one of the Arawak-speaking Paressí, but contrast sharply with the large-framed, coarse-featured Bororo, Umotina, and Guató living in the headwaters of the Paraguay River to the south.

175 131 The Bacairí Indians are first mentioned by Gonçalves da Fonseca in his account of his travels to the Madeira region in 1749. In the atlas of Thomas Jeffry, 1776, the "Bacahyris" are located on the Rio Paranatinga. Ayres de Casal, in 1817, refers to the "Baccahyris" as living in the region around the Rio das Mortes. Martins places them 175 177 in the headwaters of the Xingú. From 1820 on, more or less permanent contact has been maintained with the Bacairí living on the Rio Novo and Rio Paranatinga. In 1820 a P. Lopez led an expedition in search for gold into the area and [79] with him came priests who began to convert the Bacairí to Christianity. With these contacts came disease and conflicts (Von den Steinen, 1942, p. 123).

175 101 131 361 The first scientific account of the Bacairí dates from the voyage of Von den Steinen down the Xingú River in 1884. Traveling over land from Cuiabá, he and his party reached the Christianized Bacairí living in the villages of Rio Novo and Paranatinga with whose help he continued his voyage down the Batoví River where he was the first to make contact with the four pagan villages of the Bacairí located between latitudes 13°30′ and 12°30′ S.

175 162 The following table gives size and number of inhabitants of the villages visited by Von den Steinen (1942, appendix, table 8, p. 418):

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	House	Men	Women	Children	Total
Rio Novo	6	16	19	20	55
Paranatinga	7	6	8	3	17
On Rio Batoví:					
First village	3	10	7	9	26
Second village	4	18	17	7	42
Third village	3	13	12	19	44
Fourth village	7	27	18	8	53
Total	30	90	81	66	237

By the time Max Schmidt visited the Bacairí in 1900–1901, the Bacairí settlement had diminished. On the Paranatinga he met 34 Bacairí and at Rio Novo, 60. On the Kuliseu River where Von den Steinen had visited four villages, Max Schmidt was able to find only two.

ECONOMY

SHELTER

While in the Xingú watershed the Bacairí lived in villages built on the banks of the Rio Kuliseu. A village (*utandri*) consisted of three to eight houses (*towisę*) built in a circle around a central plaza, *tasẽra*. The Bacairí house was a large communal building, oblong in shape, with rounded ends and with the roof thatching reaching to the ground. These large domelike buildings were occupied by three to five families.

In the center of every village there was a ceremonial or flute house (*kadoẽti*) in which the men kept their ornaments and musical instruments and in which visitors were entertained. Men, women, and children are permitted to enter the *kadoẽti*. Attached to the common house there was a smaller building, usually oriented in the direction of the rising sun, in which the sacred flutes were kept. Women were not permitted to enter this house, as they were not allowed to see the sacred flutes. The villages were connected by roads running along the river bank.

EQUIPMENT

In the center of each house there was a storage space (*jirãu*) where maize, manioc meal, and other foods were kept in gourd vessels (*kdiko*). Cooking was done in a small shed at the back of the house, but food was eaten indoors. Around the walls each family had its hammocks (*amãka*) in which the people slept. Other furnishings of the house consisted of mats, baskets, clay pots,

wooden benches, and dishes and cups made from gourds.

As the Bacairí were extensive travelers and depended upon fish for a considerable part of their food supply, canoes were an important part of their equipment. The Bacairí canoe (*pépi*) was made from the bark of the jatobá tree. The tough, heavy bark was first stripped from one-half of the tree. Small fires were then lighted on the inside of the bark trough to make it curl. Braces were placed at intervals along the entire length, the bow was tapered, and the stern was squared off by forcing the bark upward at one end. Bacairí canoes varied in size, the larger ones being able to carry as many as 8 men. Canoes of jatobá bark are used by the Bacairí today and are the predominant type among the Indians of the Upper Xingú. The Bacairí also made large tubs out of jatobá bark which were used as settling vessels for manioc juice. The juice of the manioc contains a fine powder or starch which settles on the bottom of the vessel, to be gathered after the liquid is poured off. For gardening, the Bacairí formerly used a digging stick made of hardwood. For hunting, they used a bow (*túka*), round or slightly oval in cross section and from 2 to 2½ meters in length, made from a yellow or reddish wood which was first matured by burying it in mud. The bowstring was made from the fibers of imbauba bark. Arrows (*piréu*) were made from cane with hardwood or bone points. Hunting arrows had two feathers, but arrows used for shooting fish had serrated wooden points and no feathers. The cutting tools of the Bacairí consisted of knives made from bamboo, stone, bones, and shell. Transportation was by canoe, or if over land, goods were carried in a wicker basket supported on the back by a tump line.

ORNAMENTS

While living on the banks of the Kuliseu River, the Bacairí, in common with the other Upper Xingú River tribes, did not use clothing. Men sometimes wore a narrow cotton band (*onegín*) around the waist, with a few tassels hanging in front. Women, after puberty, wore the ululrí. Men wore their hair cut short. Women wore their hair long at the back but cut straight across over the forehead. Hair was cut with a knife made by setting sharp fish teeth into a wooden stick,

302 412 and was combed with a comb (*aekáji*) made by weaving slender cane teeth into a cotton holder.

301 237 Although clothing, in the strict sense of the term, was nonexistent, the Bacairí used, on ceremonial occasions, beautiful, skillfully made ornaments. An important ornament was the *orógo*, a diadem or feather headdress strapped to the forehead. The *orógo* was made by fastening a row of green parrot feathers to a cotton band, above which was fastened another row of yellow weaver bird feathers. Two long blue macaw feathers were set in the center so as to stand straight up above the forehead. The *orógo* was worn only by men. These headdresses are still used, for some were seen in the village of Simão Lopes.

There were at least four kinds of necklaces. The *megesduwa* was made from small thin round disks of white or pink snail shell, as many as 400 being strung on a string. This necklace was worn around the neck by women and around the waist by men and girls. The *ikwihéno* was also made from snail shell, but the disks were oblong with holes in both ends through which strings were passed. Although the *ikwihéno* was particularly used by men, women sometimes wore it together with the *megesduwa*. The *savaldpi* was a necklace [824] made from black disks of tucum palm nut and could be worn by both men and women at all times. Both men and women also wore necklaces made from the teeth or claws of the jaguar called the *dodojéri*. The Bacairí still use the *megesduwa*, *ikwihéno*, and the *savaldpi*.

Besides necklaces, the Bacairí used a variety of other ornaments. The *upauwi* were armlets and anklets of cotton material decorated with feathers of different colors. The armlets, which were about 2 inches wide, were fastened tightly above the [825] biceps and were believed necessary for the development of the muscle, with similar bands worn below the knee and around the ankles. Both men and women used the bands. An American missionary who experimented with Bacairí arm bands claimed that they caused him a great deal of distress but he has observed no ill effects among the Indians. The *pai* was a feather ear ornament made from red toucan and yellow parrot feathers [304] suspended from the lobes of the ears. Holes in the ears were made with a sharpened jaguar bone or with a sharpened rhea feather. The *tajikaino*, worn only by men, consisted of two blue macaw feathers

placed in a hole in the septum of the nose, so that the feathers swung one on each side of the head. Although the *páiko*, or scratcher, was not strictly an ornament, it is mentioned here because it had ritual meaning. The *páiko* was made by setting fish teeth into a gourd holder and was used for scarifying the skin of the arms, legs, chest, and back so as to cause bleeding. The wounds were first washed with water and later smeared with the juice of the *mukúna* vine. The *páiko* was used by boys and girls during puberty seclusion and by adults who had sores on their bodies. It was believed that the use of the *páiko* made people strong and healthy. As far as could be ascertained the Bacairí did not mutilate the teeth, genitals, or other parts of the body. There was no sign of tattooing, but pubic hair was carefully pulled out by both men and women. Formerly the Bacairí kept large birds, believed to belong to the eagle family, in their villages for their feathers. The Brazilians call the bird "harpía" and claim that it is still kept by the Indians in the Xingú Basin. The "harpía" was captured by shooting it with a blunted arrow, and it was kept in a special hut and fed. Villages often had several of these birds in captivity, the feathers being used particularly for feathering arrows. Parrots and macaws were also kept, their feathers being used only for ceremonial decorations.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Vegetable foods formed the basis of Bacairí diet, with fish and meat taking second and third places. The principal animals hunted were monkeys, deer, wild pigs, tapir, and the jaguar. The jaguar, however, was not eaten, but was hunted for its skin, teeth, and claws. The principal weapon used was the bow and arrow. Hunters would stalk game alone or in groups with the aid of dogs driving game into water or into steep rocky enclosures. There is no mention of the spear being used, but deadfalls and pitfalls were used. Many varieties of large fish were shot with the bow and arrow, either from canoes or from the river bank. Lizards, turtles, and a wide variety of wild fruits, roots, tender shoots, and honey were collected at certain seasons of the year.

The major part of the food supply, however, was obtained through agriculture. The Bacairí cultivated bitter manioc, *ópa;* sweet manioc, *taisę́;*

241 beans, *ipié;* peanuts, *oremį;* sweetpotatoes, *mahódo;* "cará," *návi;* maize, *ánji;* potatoes, *múla;* cotton, *kodokíra;* urucú, *ánto;* tobacco, *tauwį;* piqui fruit, *ípa.* Manioc, maize, and sweetpotatoes
248 were the principal food crops. Cotton was grown for making hammocks and the various belts and
276 strings used. Tobacco leaves, after being dried, were smoked by being rolled into cigars (*tapáki*).
[755] Tobacco seems to have had a ritual use, as the shamans smoked heavily before performing a rite.
252 Bitter manioc was shredded on a shredding board into which fish teeth or fine pieces of shell had been embedded. The pulp was squeezed in a piece of cotton cloth in order to remove the poisonous acids. The meal was then used for baking cakes. The fine powder or flour which settled at the bottom of the settling tub was also used for baking cakes after it was thoroughly dried. Maize was eaten boiled or roasted. Sweetpotatoes were
272 roasted over coals. Maize meal was prepared and mixed with wild honey and water to make a non-alcoholic beverage. The Bacairí claim not to have used any form of alcoholic beverage.

241 Cultivated plots were located outside the village, each large household usually having a continuous area. Maize and many other crops were planted in September and October when the rains began. Sweet manioc and sweetpotatoes could be planted the year around, especially on river banks after the rivers went down following the rainy season. April was the harvest month and also the beginning of the ceremonial season.

ORGANIZATION OF LABOR

592 The occupants of the large communal houses usually worked together in the fields, went hunting or fishing together, and generally cooperated in economic activities. Families could work individually if they wished or did not need the help
241 of others. It was the task of the men to burn and
462 prepare the fields for planting. As the men loosened the soil with the digging stick women planted the seeds, slips, or pieces of stalk, as the case might be. Women and children thereafter took care of the weeding.

462 Division of labor by sex existed to a certain
[285] extent. Women wove mats (*anegéu*) out of various
[296] fibers, and hammocks out of cotton yarn which was also spun by women. Men wove baskets.
[323] Both men and women made clay pots. Bacairí

Bacairí

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairí pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots [532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairí claim that they [531] formerly had decorated pottery called *amúga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

476 The Bacairí also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of com-
241 munal houses, participated. The *kometé*, or col-
476 lective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of for-
[262] est land. The women would participate by pre-paring large amounts of food and honey beverage
423 for the workers. The new field would remain the
476 property of the man who initiated the *kometé*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in
476 which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the frame-work, others went to gather grass for thatching.
[539] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective
476 enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*tulíki*) were
628 organized by the chief of the village. During
574 the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and
[622] canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 73-A] After the trading war

437 628 574 [526] over the chiefs organized wrestling matches between teams of the two villages. Before the visitors left, a feast (*tuláki*, swallow feast) was given in their honor. The motives for these trading expeditions were both economic and ceremonial. They were organized by a chief when the villagers actually required certain economic goods, but even when there was no economic need, goods were exchanged and the men of the two villages participated in wrestling, dancing, and feasting.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

181 721 The Bacairí claim not to have been a warlike people. They defended themselves if attacked, but say that they did not attack others. Each village had a chief (*píma*) who was assisted by an *itáida*. There was no chief for the whole tribe. 622 624 The *itáida*, who was a young man, was selected by the chief with the consent of the villagers. The *itáida* could be the son of the chief but this is not a requirement, for any able young man was eligible for this position. At the death of the chief the *itáida* succeeded him.

622 The principal functions of the chief were economic, judicial, and ceremonial. As we have seen, the chief organized trading expeditions and participated in such activities as collective planting and house building. He also represented the people of his village when visitors arrived or when his own village made formal visits. If the [624] village feared attack the *píma* selected a particularly brave man to lead the defense or to undertake retaliation. Discussions concerning [627] disputes and other village affairs took place in the [682] ceremonial bouse. Murderers were exiled or if a war was on the murderer was made to bear the [68] brunt of the attack. Thieves, adulterers, and others who persisted in disturbing the peace and harmony of the village were exiled through the [681] [762] common action of the villagers. Exile was considered severe punishment, for the Bacairí say that individuals who were exiled often committed suicide. Chiefs among the Bacairí, therefore, were not war leaders, nor was succession governed by descent. Chiefs seem, thus, to have been primarily leaders of social activities. The part which a chief played in ceremonial life will be described later.

61 There appears to be no evidence that the Bacairí
601 had clans or moieties. The kinship nomenclature is of the bifurcate merging type with parallel kin merged with lineal kin and with separate terms for mother's brother and father's sister and for cross cousins. (See chart 3.) The kinship terms in ego's generation and in the children's generation are dis-
582 tinct for men and women. Beyond the bar prohibiting marriage between anyone called brother, sister, parent, or child, there were no special rules governing marriage. Cross-cousin marriage was
591 common but not preferred. There were no resi-
606 dence rules or avoidances of the mother-in-law or father-in-law. As the Bacairí lived in large com-
592 munal houses, marriages often took place between
[582] young people brought up in the same house. After
[591] marriage they would take over a section of the house as their private quarters. The Bacairí say that families could move to another house with the
595 consent of the house elder. Although polygyny was permissible marriages were generally monog-
593 amous. The father and the father's brother had
604 great authority and were highly respected. Younger brothers were not permitted to joke or play rough with their eldest brother. The mother's brother and father's sister were also respected but
593 less than the eldest brother. The relationship
835 between brothers and sisters was one of great respect, the informant saying that incest was unthinkable.

THE LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH (ERASÊLLI)

843 Pregnancy (*enokúa*) was recognized as being
[842] caused by sexual intercourse. In advanced pregnancy a woman was not permitted to eat the flesh of such large animals as deer, capybara, or
844 tapir. When the time of delivery drew near a portion of the house was screened off, where the woman gave birth and remained secluded until the normal menses began. The expectant mother was assisted by her mother and other female relatives,
[256] a shaman being called only in cases of difficult birth.

A woman gave birth in a squatting position, the midwife holding her under the arms and gently pressing her stomach. Sometimes the stomach and back of the woman were bathed with poultices made from boiled cotton leaves. It was the duty of the woman's mother to cut the umbilical cord

[P.94-A]

844 with a bamboo sliver. The placenta was wrapped in a piece of cotton cloth and buried because it was believed that if it were picked at by birds it would cause sickness and misfortune to the mother and child. The child was then washed, wrapped, [553] and given to the mother. Later it was given the name of one of its ancestors.

846 During the seclusion period the mother and child were believed to be in a state of ritual danger (*uzuhi*). They were not permitted to go out in daylight and had to be fed and cared for by the female relatives. The first menses released the mother and child from seclusion, this release being known as *tadawuito*. Shortly afterward the father invited the villagers to a ceremony (*itubiwuh*) [533] during which the *nobigóro* and *tadáwa* flutes were [535] played and only the women danced. By means of this ceremony the mother was reintegrated into the life of the family and the village.

847 After 3 years of age both boys and girls began to 848 copy their elders, the boys playing with bows and arrows and the girls with spindles. By the time the boys and girls reached puberty they knew how to perform most adult activities.

PUBERTY RITES

881 When the girls had their first menses and the boys reached the age of 13 or 14, they had to go into seclusion (*poseptíro*) for a period of 2 months to a year. It was believed that the longer the young people stayed in seclusion the stronger they would become physically. The longer periods of seclusion were also believed to enhance the prestige of the family. The boys and girls were not permitted to come out in daylight, and were fed and cared for by their parents. While the boys and girls were in seclusion they made pots and baskets for family use.

877 With boys the seclusion was inaugurated by an 304 ear-piercing ceremony. A number of men with sons of about the same age would perform this rite collectively before invited guests. After eating [535] and drinking, the *poisuuito* song and dance were performed. The boys were now in a state of *uduhi*, ritual danger, and were secluded immediately after this rite. The girls' ears were pierced when they were babies, but the ear piercing of the boys corresponded to the period of the first menses of the girls.

[P.74-B]

881 The release from seclusion was signalized by the feast of tadowaiti. The parents of the young people accumulated much food and went on a big hunt on the day before the feast. The chief and all the villagers were invited to the ceremony during which all the Bacairi songs and dances were performed and the young people were presented gifts by the villagers. The girls would now take the strings of beads from around their waists and wear them around their necks and their mothers would give them cotton cords which they put around their hips and to which the aluri were attached. The boys and girls were now eligible for marriage.

MARRIAGE (TODOHOKÜINLE)

584 Marriages were arranged by parents or by older brothers or sisters. The father and mother of the boy, for instance, would take presents of ornaments and food to the parents of the girl. If the parents of the girl accepted the gifts it meant that they favored the marriage, and if they refused it meant that the suitor was not acceptable. The marriage ceremony took place in the girl's home, the date being arranged by the parents. At the girl's house the young couple were seated side by side with linked arms. They were then given advice by their respective parents and relatives. Marriage was not considered a period of ritual danger, nor were extensive feasts given. It appears to have been an affair involving only the families of the young couple.

BURIAL (EPIODÍLE)

764 The body was painted, ornaments were put on, and then the body was wrapped in a hammock and buried in a grave with the feet to the east so that the face would be toward the rising sun. 768 Although old and worn objects were burnt, most of the property of the dead was shared among the relatives. The part of the house occupied by the dead person was washed, and clean sand was sprinkled on the floor. There was a mourning 765 period (*logóno*) of 1 month, during which the immediate relatives were in a state of uduki.[1]

SHAMANISM

775 When a person died, the ghost (*kodépe*) went into the sky or into the water or sometimes wandered upon the earth. Ghosts of the dead often

[1] [ie. a state of ritual danger]

came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid of them. They were, however, afraid of certain evil spirits—for instance, *eradupire*, who caused death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*pidji*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period sexual intercourse was forbidden, fasts were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a flute (either *emini* or *kenapire*), which he kept in the sacred flute house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

Before beginning a performance, shamans always fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing objects from the body the shamans prepared medicines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pemdire* tuber, and *tarépi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwesedzi* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *kutdire* plant and by mixing piqui nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tsiapondli*. The ball (*tsia*) was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was

526 then crushed, the pieces were taken out through the hole, air was blown into the ball, and the hole was covered over with rubber. The balls varied in size from 3 to 8 inches in diameter. The game was played on a field about 50 yards square with four goals placed midway on each of the four sides. Small white circles (*ekipíri*) marked the goals, and another circle about a yard in diameter (*petéri*) was placed in the center of the field.

The game was played by two teams with equal but varying numbers on each side. One team, called *pídto*, had the north and east goals, and the other team, called *toafundo*, had the south and west goals. To score a point a team had to put the ball across the opponent's goal. The ball could not be carried in the hand but could be kicked over the goalkeeper. Each side had a leader who did not play but encouraged his players. The organizer of the game threw the ball from the center of the field to the *pídto* side at the beginning of the game or when the ball went out of bounds. The game lasted until the players were tired, the winners being the team with the greater number of points.

The Bacairi also organized wrestling matches called *taddiapudlli*. The object of the match was to knock down the opponent by pushing or hitting with the shoulders; grasping or hitting with the hands was not allowed. The loser was the one who had the greater number of falls.

CEREMONIALISM

527 Among the Bacairi ceremonialism was highly
796 developed. Although songs and dances were performed whenever the people had an abundance of food and economic activities permitted the leisure time, there were special occasions (the ripening of corn, ear piercing of boys preparatory to going into seclusion, the coming out of seclusion of a woman after childbirth, house building, the distribution of cotton by women) during which particular songs and dances had to be performed. At these times it was customary to invite people from neighboring villages to participate in the festivities.

539 The musical instruments of the Bacairi consisted of rattles and flutes. The drum does not appear to have been used. Rattles were of two kinds: the common gourd rattle (*pálo*) and piqui

534 nut hulls tied together and fastened to the ankles of the dancers. There were at least four kinds of flutes. The *emíni* flute was made from two pieces of soft sapling hollowed out and fastened together with wax and string. This flute was about 3 feet long with four finger holes and a separate mouthpiece. The *kanagéra* flute was made like the *emíni* but was shorter and had a different sound. Both the *emíni* and the *kanagéra* were sacred flutes of the shamans and were always kept in the sacred flute house connected to the *kadoéti* where they were played only at night so as to prevent women from seeing them. If a woman were to see one of these flutes, misfortune would befall her. When the sacred flutes were played there was dancing but no singing. The *taddnwa* was a bamboo flute made in five different lengths without finger holes and was not sacred. The *nokigóra* was made by fastening four short tubes of bamboo of different lengths together. It was played in pairs, one player answering the other. This flute was not sacred and could be accompanied by singing. In addition to the rattles and flutes, the Bacairí used highly decorated sticks or batons called *kadóapurí* in some of their dances.

533 535 Besides the flutes and the dances performed to their tunes, the Bacairí had songs and their corresponding dances which were not always accompanied by flute music; for instance, the *oríko* was a song and a dance performed with the decorated batons which could be performed at any time; the *pahoewáto*, another general song and dance which also could be performed at any time; the *yawaisári*, the corn song and dance in which neither the flutes nor batons were used; the *mahulawári*, performed during the house building ceremony without batons or flutes; and the *poinwáto*, sung and danced during the boys' ear piercing ceremony.

527 One of the most important ceremonial events of the year was the annual corn dance (*anjéintchéruli*), which was performed when the corn ripened in the fields. The man who had the largest corn crop was the organizer of the ceremony. In order to have enough corn, the Bacairí usually planted special fields, the yields of which were used on this occasion. On the day before the corn gathering all the men went on a big hunt in order to have large quantities of meat ready for the feast. Early in the morning of the following day everyone went out to the fields to

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoiti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoiti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man 527 to man asking for a song leader. The man who 533 took the offered corn husk then began the *pawiadri*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

889 The *runaegére*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 904 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poiaudo* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulowdri* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [829] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 577 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [535] women sang and danced the *pawalrima*. This

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dance was given at night accompanied by flute playing.

When a woman came out of seclusion after the birth of a child the women of the village danced to the tunes of the *tadáuxo* and *nokipáxo* flutes.

ORIGIN MYTHS

Although the Bacairi have many myths, only two were obtained. One of these is the *yenadílli*, or the origin of day: In the beginning it was so dark and cold in the world that the people had to cover their bodies with grease to keep warm. The people wanted the sun to come out, so they put on their ornaments and painted their bodies and began to pray to *orimáto*, the great spirit who lived in the north. The Bacairi believed that *orimáto* was not an Indian but just a man who lived in a stone house with some of the animals which he had created. The people continued praying to *orimáto* and when light finally came the people were old and the children had grown up.

Fewitíkodíke, or "those who died in the fire," is a story which tells about the origin of cultivated plants and the *yawoisári*, or corn dance: Once long ago there were a number of boys who were in puberty seclusion. At that time there were no cultivated plants, the people living by hunting and collecting wild plant foods. The boys were kept in seclusion so long and had so little to eat that they became very tired. One day when the relatives of the boys went out to collect food the boys all committed suicide. When the relatives returned and found the boys dead they were sorry and angry with themselves for neglecting them. They built a large fire and after dancing around the fire naked they jumped into the flames and were burned to death. The leader of this act was *yawíti*. Later the soul of *yawíti* returned and spoke through one of the living Indians. He explained to the Indians how to grow corn and other food crops and how to perform the corn dance. After that the corn dance (*yawoisári*) has always been performed.

As the Bacairi formerly lived in association with the other Upper Xingú tribes, it is perhaps useful to compare their following origin myths as gathered by Von den Steinen with those of the Camayurá. There appears to be a close resemblance between *Kawaschiní* of the Bacairi and

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP 7
[P.777-B]

773 171 Mavutsiné of the Camayurá. Both are original personages. It is also interesting to note that the Bacairí myth speaks of a time when there was maize but no manioc. Camayurá legends speak of the origin of manioc only. All the tribes are made from uba cane. The Camayurá, as we noted, were made by Mavutsiné from *camiuva* wood.

539 *The Parents of Keri and Kame.* The first part of this legend takes place in heaven. At that time there was almost everything that there is on earth today. They tell nothing of their own creation, they narrate only how it is that the heroes Keri and Kame obtain of other personages a part of the useful and important things. The Bakairí always existed, even if "in the beginning there were only a few." There were also other people that were not Bakairí, chiefly the different jaguar tribes and their relatives, who killed and ate many Bakairí. Kamuschiní, with whom the story begins, also was "of another people."

Kamuschiní went into the forest in search of tucum palm leaves to make bowstrings, where he met the jaguar Oka, whom he feared very much, and promised to get him some women if he were spared. First he felled red wood trees (*sewéti*), took the logs home, put them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and went away for a little while. But when he returned all the logs had turned into men who were busy making arrows. He killed them and went to fell five or six trees of another species which he handled as he had the other ones.

Returning, after a short absence, he saw that this time the trees had turned into women. They all called him "papa" and—with the exception of the last two, who, remaining seated without moving, infuriated him and he killed them immediately [a]—were busily grinding maize—"they say that at that time there was no manioc"—to make beijús and drinks. Kamuschiní gave the two eldest ones, Nimagakaniro and Ichoge, to the jaguar Oka, who took them home. On the way, however, Ichoge, climbing a burity palm for nuts, fell to the ground and died.

Nimagakaniro swallowed two Bakairí finger bones, which were spread around the house in great numbers as Oka used them to make arrowheads with which he killed many Bakairí, whose flesh he ate. It was due to these bones, only these, not Oka, which made her pregnant. Now, however, destiny threatened her in the person of her mother-in-law, Mero. Her husband is not known and besides Oka she had two other jaguar sons, Kuára

[114]

[a] I obtained the names of five women: Nimagakaniro, Atsoumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawaguri. In my Bakairí grammar, p. 236, I erroneously wrote that Kamuschiní felled five piqui trees and committed the injustice of attributing to him a mistake. The name Ichoge contains *ipé* piqui (*ini* - *pe*, with piqui). Tawaguri also is the name of a tree, of which the two lazy ones were made, in Portuguese it is called "olho de Boi" (bull's eye). Koyaka (*kuyá-ka*, with *kuyá*?) grew out of a tree with rough bark and yellow fruit. About Atsoumagale's tree origin Antonio could give no further information. Both she and Koyaka were also wives and mothers of jaguars, although this information is given as uncertain. Later on Atsoumagale is designated as the wife of Kuára, Mero's son.

539 and Zuapányua. One day Mero visited her daughter-in-law while Oka was out hunting; "she did not want him to have sons by a Bakairí woman," because she hated and ate them. With her claws she tore out Nimagakaniro's eyes and went away. Nimagakaniro died, but uncle Kuára—a jaguar, who in heaven practices the "Caesarian operation" on a dead woman—opened her womb and took out the twins Keri and Kame whom he put in a calabash like young parrots. Then he and his men cut Nimagakaniro into pieces, roasted and ate her. When Oka came home, they offered him the leftovers which he ate unsuspectingly. After he heard what had happened, Oka became very angry and ran to kill Mero but desisted when she said "I am your mother." A jaguar foster father raised Keri and Kame; he let them ride on his back and taught them to shoot with arrows. One day they asked him about their mother; he had not told them about her death because he was ashamed to have eaten of her flesh, and even then he did not tell them. However, their grandmother, or Aunt Ewaki, who belonged to the Bakairí race, and who is mentioned here for the first time, told the two about Mero's crime. Keri and Kame went and killed Mero although she received them kindly, greeting them, "Oh, my grandsons."

"Damned Mero (Antonio hated her with all his heart) was not buried, oh, no, she was burned." Keri and Kame made a stake, lighted it, then they dug a hole from where they could watch. Mero burned *bopopopo* . . . The fire can still be seen today in the big Magalhães cloud. At that time Keri and Kame did not yet have human form. Kame was curious and crawled out of his hole and caught on fire. He burned and died. Keri blew on him and made him a nose and hands and feet as men have. But Keri too caught on fire (the small Magalhães cloud is the fire of Keri and Kame), burned and died. Kame blew on him making life return to him and gave him a human form. Then there came three animals which can still be seen in the sky, the small otter which took Keri and Kame's tails, the big otter (ariranha) who took their hands and feet, and the toucan took their beaks. Keri's beak was bigger than Kame's.

Now the two appeared in human form and began, shortly, their activities in benefit of the living. But then what did Kamuschiní, Mero and Oka look like? "Oka is the spotted jaguar?" "Yes." "And he shot with arrows?" "Yes, then the Jaguar shot with arrows." "He shot the Bakairí and ate them." Mero had some resemblance to the jaó (*Crypturus noctivagus*) and the macuco (*Tinamus brasiliensis*), two gallinaceous birds. But her claws were as big as thumbs. "Then the mother of the jaguars was a bird?" "Yes, they say that even today the jaguars will not eat jaó nor macuco." This again is a typical Indian reason for an absurd relationship between the jaguar and the wild forest hens. Should there be a historical reason it is inseparably amalgamated with the zoological one. "Mero ate so many Bakairí, that hardly any were left. Keri had to make new ones."

Kamuschiní is also connected with animal life and although we can conceive his story in heaven we need an even greater imagination to understand it. He "is black,

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P.78-B]

539 has sparse hair, and makes threads like a spider." "Spiders come every year in July and breed; in August and September, when the rains come, they make threads and go up to heaven leaving the thread hanging down behind them."

Keri and Kame now have human forms. Now also they avenge the death of their mother on their foster father. But they do not dare do it and want others to do it for them. They ask the jaguar to make arrows for them. The two brothers put these upright in the ground in a circle and blow on them. "Thus came" the Kayabí, neighbors of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who, so we are told, lived in peace with one another in former times but became deadly enemies because of stone axes and women. The arrows, which the jaguar made for Keri and Kame and to which by magic, they added the Kayabí; were stems of burity leaves, for at that time Keri and Kame were still children and used children's arrows. Keri told the Kayabí to shoot Oka but they missed him. In view of this, Keri resolved to shoot him; the arrow went into the jaguar's knee, "the jaguar jumped into the water and escaped." The myth then says simply that "then they killed their father," but Antonio added "if the jaguar had been killed there would not be any today."

The Sun. Then, Ewaki, the aunt of Keri and Kame, ordered them to get the sun, who was kept by the red urubú or urubú-rei (vulture.) Everything that was told up to now took place during the night before the urubú-rei came. In the zenith there was a red hole which belonged to the urubús. Because it was a dark night, the tapir, which can be seen in the Milky Way, fell into the hole. Keri saw the tapir and went in as his paw.[a] Kame, however, went in as a small yellow singing bird, which resembles the bemteví, and sat on a branch from where he would be able to inform Keri, who could not see, of all that happened. The red urubú opened the sun, it became light and the urubús discovered the tapir. All the urubús, black ones and white ones—only the red one still stayed at a distance—attacked the tapir. They brought cipó cords, with which, after much work, they pulled him out of the hole. Then they wanted to cut him up. At that moment, Kame, who saw everything from his branch, sang "nem, nem, nem". Keri blew and the urubús could not open the tapir with their beaks. They asked the urubú-rei to help them. When he came near Kame stopped saying "nem, nem, nem". The urubú-rei opened the tapir with his beak but at that moment Keri attacked him and held him so firmly that he nearly killed him. Keri told him he would let him live if he would give up the sun. Then the urubú-rei sent his brother, the white urubú, to bring the sun. The white urubú returned, bringing the red of the sunset. "Is this right," Kame asked Keri who had to hold the urubú-rei. "No, it was not the red of the sunset that I asked for," replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the moon. "Is this right?" asked Kame. "Of course not!" replied Keri. Then the white urubú brought the sun and when Kame asked

[a] Old Caetano told me that Keri made the tapir of áka, a wood as soft a manioc, and then he made small flies which caused the tapir to smell bad so that the urubú would be attracted.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P. 79-A]

539 again "Is this right?" Keri responded "Now it is." Then Keri let go the red urubú who was furious.

At that time the moon was made of japú feathers, the sun of toucan and red arara feathers and the red of the sunset of toucan feathers. This was what the ancient ones were taught. If it is different now, as you say, I know nothing about it, nor does anyone else. Then someone had to blow in order to make the sun turn to fire.

Keri thought for a long time about what he should do with the sun and the moon. It was always day. Ewaki, also, could not tell him what to do. At last he made a big pot and put it over them. Then it was dark. Keri gave the moon to Kame. When he took away the pot it was day. . . .

Sleep and Burity Hammocks. I do not know if the necessity to sleep manifested itself with the long continuation of clear irradiation by the sun when it was still uncovered, but in any case Keri and Kame wanted badly to sleep, but they did not know how. Discontented, they went to find Ewaki, their always well-informed aunt, who told them where they could find sleep. Po, the lizard, owned sleep. He received Keri and Kame kindly and said, "Oh, my grandsons." They stayed at his house and lay in a hammock of burity and slept. When they awoke, they felt better. The next morning they said goodby and went away taking the hammock which the lizard had given them.[46] On the road, after they had walked a league, they wanted to try to sleep. They lay down in the hammock but were not able to sleep. They tried and tried in vain. They returned then to the lizard's house, they caught him and pulled out his eyelids, of which they took a very large piece. The lizard became very angry but Keri and Kame now had eyelids and were able to sleep.

Exchange of Heaven and Earth. It was also at that time that Keri left the heaven. "At first the earth was heaven; here, where we are now, the Bakairí were not born. The heaven has a floor, the [illegible] as the earth. Heaven and earth are very close to one another; from there one can cross over to here." Keri said to heaven, "You should not stay here. My people die here. And you want to stay here? You are good. But I do not want my people to die." Heaven responded, "I want to stay here." Keri said then, "Then I move." He went with all the people to the earth and the heaven went there where it is now, and where today one is able to see that everything happened as the Bakairí say.

Fire. Keri and Kame went to Ewaki who sent them to go and get fire. The fox owned the fire. He had it in his eyes where it gave a leap when he wanted to light a fire. The fox (*Canis vetulus* "catches crayfish and crabs," Brehm *Saugeterie II* S. 57) had put out a bow-net to catch fish. Keri and Kame went there and found in the bow-net a "jejum" fish and a snail. Keri entered the "jejum" (a smooth lake fish about 4 inches long) and Kame entered the shell. "Each was well hidden in his animal." The fox came, singing, and made a fire. Then he went to see

[25 P.25]

[46] Another time I was told that before there were hammocks, people slept standing up, leaning against trees. Protection against snakes and malignant insects is really one of the greatest advantages of the hammock.

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P. 79-B]

539 what was in the net and took the fish and the shell putting them on the fire to roast. But the two brothers poured water on the fire. Furious, the fox picked up the snail, but it jumped into the river and brought more water, poured it on the fire almost extinguishing it. The fox caught him again and wanted to cut him into pieces on a piece of wood, but the snail escaped to the other side. With this, the fox lost patience, and went away very angry. Keri and Kame blew on the almost extinct fire and took it to Ewaki.

Rivers. Ewaki sent the two boys to get some water. They wandered about for 3 days. There they found three pots which belonged to Ochobi, a watersnake. There was water in the pots; two of them contained good water, but the third, bad water, which one could not drink without dying. They did not touch this third pot, because they only wanted good water. They broke the other two pots, the water which flowed from one was the Paranatinga, and of the other, the Ronuro and Kuliseu.[48] Keri took care of the Paranatinga, and Kame of the Ronuro. Both rivers continued to flow and Keri and Kame ran each after his river; they each called to the other, so that they would not get lost. Suddenly Kame's voice could no longer be heard. Keri shouted and shouted, but no answer came. Then he made the Paranatinga stand still and wait, and went to the Ronuro. Silly Kame had chosen the worse river, and could not master it, the water had spread and grown and Kame was drowned. An enormous jahú fish swallowed him. Keri came and found the Ronuro standing still, Kame having disappeared. At once he began to fish, he caught three jahús, one of which was swollen. He opened his belly and saw Kame, who was dead. He laid the corpse on big green leaves and blew on it. Kame got up and said "I slept very well." "No" exclaimed Keri, "You certainly did not sleep. A jahú devoured you." They were bored with the Ronuro and so Keri called a duck and told her to lead the water on. Thus the duck conducted the river farther on and the two boys—who, then, were about 8 years old, as Antonio ascertained, comparing them with the son of a German whom we had met in Cuiabá—returned to the Paranatinga, which was patiently waiting. Keri said, "This is the water which we shall take along."

For three days they walked on with the river toward the valley. Then they came to the fall of the Paranatinga, which was not yet a waterfall but only a dry rock. They took the water up to the falls and then let it wait on the other side. As they wanted to stay where they were, Keri called ducks and pigeons and other birds, which took the water forward.

House, Fishing, Ceremonial Dances, Tribes. The reason why they stayed at the waterfall was because Tumehi or Tumeng, a grandfather of Keri, lived there. He was the husband of the grandmother, or as we have called her up to now Aunt Ewaki (mother and aunt, great-aunt and grandmother have the same value in kinship relationships). Tumehi was a bat and had a gray-black skin. Old Caetano referred to him sometimes as Semimo (Bak. *semimo*

[48] In the myth, only the Ronuro is mentioned, but Antonio added "that was the water of the Kulisen River."

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
[P.80-A]

539 morcego) and sometimes as King of the Congo. The latter expression the old man had heard from the fugitive slaves or farm workers and applied it to the black Tumehi. Tumehi belongs to the oldest kinship group just as Kamuschiní, Mero and Ewaki and probably his real name is Semimo, since *tumehi* and *tumeng* are adjectives. Before the water reached the falls, this was his stone house; it is not astonishing that the bat should be considered the builder of clefts, as it prefers these clefts for its "habitat" and that these with one or the other outstanding rock above them be considered a house. Tumehi was also a mason.

Keri and Kame asked Tumehi to build a stone house for each of them. Tumehi, in order to obtain stones, blew on termites: it was thus that stones originated.

They also learned other things from Tumehi at the waterfall. The grandfather, rich in knowledge, showed them how to make and lay out bow-nets and how to catch fish, matrinchã, in them. He taught them, also, how to make a grill to roast the fish.

Keri and Kame had now come so far that they might be taken for adult men, they had obtained everything they needed: the sun and the moon, the hammock and sleep, the fire, the best river with a waterfall and fish, houses and fireplaces. Their life had started in heaven and is told up to the time when the real history of the tribe begins in the oldest Bakairí settlement near the Paranatinga Falls.

The Bakairí lived with Keri: his house was on the east side of the falls. They made a hill on the western side from where they could overlook the whole area. First, Kame built a ceremonial hut and a flute. He invited Keri and his people. Everyone danced to the tune of the flute, stamping with their feet and shaking their arms in response to the music, marching from their houses to the flute house and back again. Kame offered his guests pogu and beijús. In exchange they gave him arrows and cotton thread.

After this, Keri also called his people together for a dance; they danced and drank pogu in the afternoon in the big square, which still can be seen near the falls; then they made garments of burity, makanari and imiga, shook their rattles and played the flute. Now Keri, too, could invite Kame and his people. Many of them came and Keri was the owner of the imeo dance, which lasts two days and nights, refreshing themselves in the morning with a bath in the river.

But because of the people the brothers began to fight during the dance. Keri had made many Bakairí of ubá cane, whereas Kame had made none. Keri blamed him for his laziness; they quarreled and Kame, the weaker one, fled. He escaped to the southwest, made a hill at the Beijaflor River, a left tributary of the Paranatinga, and there he made the tribes: Apiaká, Paressí, and Guaná. It is very interesting to note that the Guaná are also mentioned here, being a widely spread tribe, from Paraguay, of whose existence, in this part of the country nobody had heard; a very, very long time ago, they also lived along the Beijaflor River.

Keri climbed a hill at the Paranatinga and from there he could see the smoke far away. He went to visit Kame

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
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539 and there found many, many people. He scolded Kame, furiously, "Why did you make so many people?" Once again they began to quarrel, but Kame abandoned the Paressí with whom he was living, and returned with Keri to the falls. Within a short time a new misunderstanding arose because of the people. Keri had made more, and Kame escaped, but this time to the Arinos. Keri looked for him, found him and brought him back again to the Paranatinga Falls. It seems that these fights and wanderings are narrated to give both of them the possibility to create a number of different tribes, which live at great distances. Keri created the Bakairí, Kayabí, Bororó, Nahuquá and Mehinakú; and Kame the Apiaká, Paressí, Guaná, Maué, Suyá, Mundurukú, and all "Arinos tribes." I have already given consideration to the fact that all eastern tribes may be assigned to Keri and all western ones to Kame (. . .) and mentioned that there exists a difference between sun-east and moon-west and that Keri, although his name in Arawak means moon, really should be taken as chief of the eastern tribes (. . .) as the Bakairí hero with his moon name, which he received from Arawak women, naturally would be the owner of the sun-east, for the Bakairí. All tribes were made out of reeds, of which arrows are made, and the Portuguese of a dark kind of the color of a gun stock. In the first place, Keri, of course, gave the gun to the Bakairí, but they did not know how to handle it, one shot past another person's ear. They were so scared of shooting as "we saw among the people on the Kuliseu." Then Keri gave the gun to the Caraibas.

Parting of Keri and Kame. Keri and Kame leave the falls and Keri names Arimoto chief of the remaining Bakairí. Arimoto was also born at the Falls. This chief abused his position and killed many Bakairí. "Was he not himself a Bakairí?" I asked. "Probably but he was a vile scoundrel. Had he been good, his descendants would still be the chiefs of the Bakairí." This time Keri and Kame went to the Kuliseu. The Bakairí, in great need, followed them and accused Arimoto. Keri and Kame returned at once, killed the traitor who defended himself violently and tried to kill Keri.

This is the end of the deeds of Keri and Kame, according to the principal myth. They left the Bakairí with many matrinchãs and went up the hill, from where they once more answered the wildly crying Bakairí and then "went along the trail. No one knows where they went. The ancient ones did not know where they had gone. Today we know much less where they went."

Even though the myth has such a tragic ending, the people had their own opinion about it. Tumehi—not to forget the old bat—left together with Keri. What happened to Kame? "He was always together with Keri. Perhaps he is dead now." And Keri? The divine ancient Caetano, who could adjust himself excellently to new conditions, declared that Keri was the Emperor in Rio de Janeiro, D. Pedro II. The good Bakairí patiently answered all my innumerable questions, because I had told them that I had to report everything to the emperor. And this was of great importance to them. I inquired "and what if the emperor in Rio de Janeiro should die?" "If the

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539 emperor die, then all Bakairí will die too." was the answer, which fortunately, in the meantime, proved to be wrong.

Chief Felipe gave me a different account. "Keri went with a hundred men to the Ronuro and Kuliseu. He sailed down the river into the ocean. This the people at the Batoví also say."

Antonio believed in the text of the myths as he had

6:Oberg E-5 (1947)1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
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539 learned it from his mother. But in a different context he maintained that Keri lived in heaven, his house being there where the sun rose. "Is Keri the god about whom the Portuguese told you?" "No, that is somebody else, about whom we do not know anything. Keri is the grandfather of the Bakairí [Von den Steinen, 1894, ch. 13, pp. 373–381].

6: Oberg E-5 (1947) 1953 SP7 Bacairi SP7
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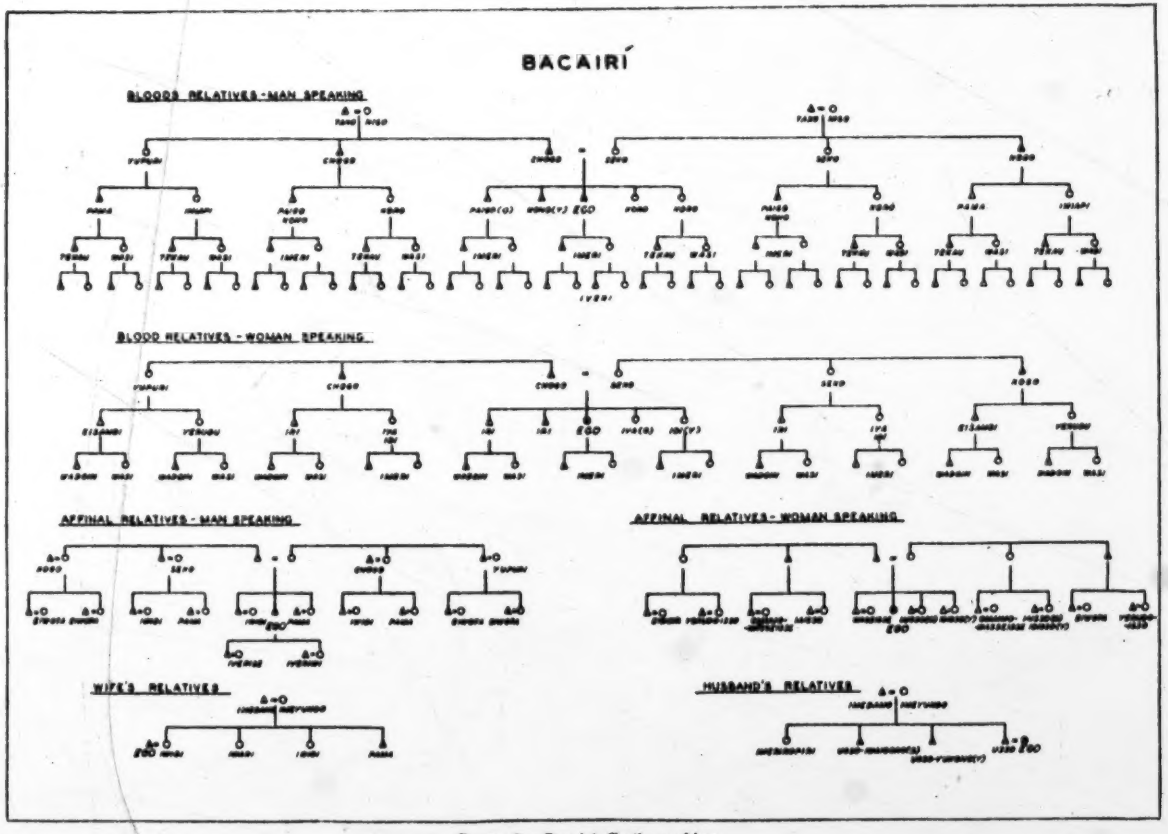

CHART 3.—Bacairi, Carib-speaking.

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SP7 Bacairi
Trumai p.123

TRUMAI
BLOOD RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
BLOOD RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - MAN SPEAKING
AFFINAL RELATIVES - WOMAN SPEAKING

CHART 9.—Trumai, unrelated.

CHART 11.—Bororo, unrelated. (See Appendix 2.)

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Bororo

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Bororo SPI
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APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

The Bororo are divided into two exogamous matrilineal moieties—*Cherêôe* and *Tugaríque*. A man in the *Tugaríque* moiety calls all men of his own moiety *tugaréje* and all women *tugarére*. He calls men of the *Cherêôe* moiety *cherêi* and women *cherêre*. One's opposites can be collectively called *yorubúdaru*, or if they are small children, *yorubúdaréiroge*; *éroge* meaning little.

There are actually few classificatory terms in the Bororo kinship system. In a general way all men of the opposite side are fathers (*póguc*). Generation lines are largely ignored. If the *póguc* is old he becomes a grandfather (*póguepépe*). If one marries *póguc's* sister he becomes one's brother-in-law (*nodóu*). Men younger than one's self are called *mede* (boy) or son of the opposite moiety.

Women of the opposite side are called mothers-in-law (*imarúga*). They are potential wives. If old they are grandmothers (*imarúgapega*). That is, one's father's mother is *imarúgapega*, one's father's sister is *imarúga*, her daughter is *imarúga*. Women younger than one's self are termed *aréde*, girl or daughter of the opposite moiety. One of these women one marries, she may be *imarúga* or *aréde*, and she becomes one's *toreduche*, wife. Her mother becomes *imarúga*.

In one's own moiety the men are generally classed as brothers (*imána*) with distinctions for younger and older brother (initiated or uninitiated). Older men are *imánapega* or *yedága*, father-in-law or initiator. Grandfather is *yedágapega;* mother's brothers are *yedága;* father's sister's

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APPENDIX 2

BORORO KINSHIP SYSTEM

daughter's husband is also *pedápe*. Boys are *made*
girls are *aráda*. When they get married one's
sister's children become *iwapéda*, moiety-son; and
irápe, moiety-daughter. *Iwapéda* is also one's son-
in-law (daughter's husband).

In one's own moiety women are mothers,
imápe; sisters before puberty, *ibedpe*; and sisters
after puberty, *irápe*.

Children before puberty are just *made* (boy) and
aráda (girl); after puberty boys and girls of one's
own moiety become *iwapéda* and *irápe*, moiety-
son and moiety-daughter or son-in-law and
daughter-in-law. One's own son and daughter are
called *máde* and *aráda*. These terms are extended
to brother's sons and daughters and to sister's sons
and daughters. They mean boy and girl especially
when *drógo* (little) is added.

At puberty a boy goes through an initiation rite
which incorporates him into his own moiety.
After this, sister's son is called *iwagéda*. After the
ear-piercing ceremony sister's daughter is called
irdgo.

Cherúdo clans

1. Bokodóri.
2. Bakóro.
3. Badójebage.
4. Kiédo.
5. Borótcherá.
6. Ócbera.

Tugarédo clans

1. Arári.
   a. Arurécha bógi wógi.
   b. Arurécha tehíbógiwógi.
2. Iwágudodgi.
   a. Tobóreu.
   b. Kódjagureu.
3. Apíbóregi.
4. Ipayédo.

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